4: Dugast AA S-4 (ca. 1947) 1949 FHB Fang FHB

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CHAPTER 6

THE BETI AND THE PAHOUIN

THE BETI OR BATI

/Pp. 1-56 not translated/ In the introductory section devoted to the peopling of the area, we have spoken of the Beti, or Bati, who certainly comprised a large group with many branches. They have been subject to many upheavals and, consequently, it is impossible to determine which of them have remained pure Beti and which—according to G. Tessmann's expression—have become "Pahouinized," and to what extent they have become "Pahouinized." Therefore, we will first devote a short paragraph to the Beti, and then another to the Pahouin /Pahuin/.

In the discussion which follows we will speak first of the populations which the authors have grouped under the name of Beti, and then, imperceptibly, we will move on to the Pahouin, but we are not able to decide exactly where the dividing line should be placed.

It is certain that the various branches of the Beti, or Bati, spread over a large area. According to the oral traditions of a number of these peoples, their original habitat was north of the Sanaga River, and near its tributary the Mbam /M'Bam/. /Map 1/ A tiny group of these Bati remained there, and they may still be found southwest of Bafia, on the right bank of the Lihoua, a tributary of the Sanaga. Their little territory of barely 20 square kilometers is wedged in between the Yambassa /Yambassa/ in the east, the Lemande to the north, and the Baso in the west and to the south. There are only 300 persons altogether in the villages of Kelong (on the route from Bafia to Ngambe) and the hamlets of Mpouka and Nyambat.

Others of the Beti remained north of the Sanaga and divided into a scattering of small groups; when the Germans found them they had not united /58/ and were still migrating. They did not become settled until the Babute had been pushed back to their former habitat by the new occupants.

4:Dugast--1a 5-4 (ca. 1947) 1949 Fitti Fang Fitti
Beti

161
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[Map 1]

[81] This group of Beti, or Bati, north of the Sanaga, whom the Ger-
[83] mans--being good linguists--recognized easily by their language, were all those whom the French administration later called by the general name "Sanaga." They included the Tsinga, the Mvele /Mvelle/ (contrary to Nekes' opinion), the Bavek, the Mangisa, the Ngwo, and the Kombe.

[86] What is the origin of these Bati? G. Tessmann thinks that they may
[87] be related to the peoples he has named "Mittelkamerun Bantu /Middle Cameroons Bantu/" (Bafia, Banen /Bamend/, Yambasa, etc.). But he does not confuse the two groups. He believes that the Bati came from the north, where they first lived on the left bank of the M'Bam. Then, pushed by the Babute, some of them moved to the right bank. He notes that from that point on two tendencies are apparent: Some of the Bati were attracted by the civilization of the northeast (Babute), others by that of the southeast (Pahouin). Thus the Bavek and the Tangafuk (the Fök and the Fuk) migrated and scattered in a direction that differed from the one taken by groups such as the Bessinga and the Mangisa, who were moving toward the Pahouin. The latter two let themselves be assimilated quite rapidly.

According to G. Tessmann, the Bati are not Pahouin but rather a population encountered by the latter in their migrations. These people were attracted or influenced by the Pahouin and, in turn, influenced the invaders, just as they influenced, or were influenced by, the central Bantu. In the course of influences and counter influences, the intermingling of Pahouin and Bati, as much in culture as in language, has been so great that it is now difficult to untangle the threads of their various ramifications. Some threads have been lost, others broken, and those that remain have taken on a variety of hues.

[113] Language. See:

Johnston, H. H. A Comparative Study of the Bantu and Semi-Bantu Language (Oxford University Press, Vol. 1, 1919, Vol. 2, 1922), Vocabulary No. 216, and his reference to the study by Carl Meinhof, "Die Sprachverhältnisse in Kamerun /Linguistic Relationships in the Cameroons/," Zeitschrift für afrikanische und oceanische Sprachen (Berlin, 1895).

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113 Forschungen 1904-1907 /Anthropological Monograph on a West African Negro Tribe/, Results of the Lübeck Fang Expedition 1907-1909 and Earlier Research in 1904-1907/ (2 vols.) (Berlin: Wasmuth, 1913), p. 34 (a short vocabulary).

-----. "Die Volker und Sprachen Kameruns /The People and Languages of the Cameroons/," Petermanns geographische Mitteilungen, 1932, pp. 185-86.

197 We wonder whether G. Tessmann knew the following three lines written by von Stein zu Lausnitz: "The Bati languages show certain resemblances to those of the Baya and the Bangandu of the eastern end of the colony." (1)

113 1. von Stein zu Lausnitz, "Eine Erkundungs-Expedition zwischen Wuri und Sanaga /An Exploratory Expedition between the Wuri and the Sanaga/," Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1908, p. 523.

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von Stein zu Lausnitz. Op. Cit., pp. 522, 523, 527.

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Bulletin de la Societe d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 3 (July 1943), pp. 25-26 and No. 10 (June 1946).

Moisel map, G2, Jaunde, April, 1913. /59/

THE PAHOUIN

101 It has seemed necessary to us to employ the term "Pahouin,"
131 generally used by the French to designate a group of peoples who,

101 barely a century and a half ago, invaded and took over more than
131 176,000 square kilometers of land in the western part of Equatorial Africa. For a century these peoples have occupied the huge forest area which stretches from 1° south of the equator to 4° 30 in the north, and from 9° 30 to 14° meridian in longitude.

101 Poutrin uses the term "Fan" to designate these peoples. Tessmann
114 uses the term "Pangwe /Mpangwe/."

We have rejected Poutrin's term "Fan" for the same reason that Tessmann did. There exists in the Cameroons a subgroup of Pahouin known as Fang, and it seems to us that using the same term to designate two different entities—on the one hand, a large group occupying a vast territory, and on the other, a very small unit comprising 12,583 persons within this group—could lead to confusion and misunderstanding.

114 The penetration of the area by the Germans, which brought them into contact with the Pahouin of the southern part of the territory, had to be carried out slowly. The first expeditions started from Grand-Batanga near Kribi. It was possible to explore quite rapidly the lower part of the Sanaga River as far as Edea Falls. At that time the river was called "Grand (Big) Nyong," and the present-day Nyong was "Petit (Little) Nyong." The natives on the coast said at that time that in the interior there flowed a great river whose waters moved from west to east. This detail posed a great problem for the Germans: Did the separation of the waters reaching the Congo and Grand-Nyong basins occur so near the coast? The first expedition was led by Lieutenant R. Kund, who was accompanied by Lieutenant Tappenbeck, the zoologist Weissenborn, and the botanist Braun. On October 15, 1887, they left Grand-Batanga, traveled through the Ngumba country and the valley of the Nyong, and, going northeast, reached the Sanaga on January 19, 1888. According to the reports they were "at least 300 kilometers from the coast," but it is not possible to locate the exact spot.

Within a few years from that date nearly the whole forest region had been explored, opened up to commerce, and studied both from ethnographic and economic viewpoints.

114 The first observations were based on linguistic notations, and the
174 extension of the Pahouin invasion above the second parallel was easily perceived when it was investigated also from the south through Gabon.

114 The great explorer Schweinfurth was the first to present the theory
174 that the invasion must have begun far to the east among the Azande, south of Bahr el Ghazal (approximately 23° long., and 5° north lat.). Dr. Poutrin, R. P. Trilles, Largeau, and Avelot accepted his conclusions, but Baumann and Westermann rejected them as greatly exaggerated. According to them, the Pahouin came only from the high Sanaga and had reached the western part of Equatorial Africa through a series of successive westward migrations, avoiding the great equatorial forest by going around it in the north and going through the valleys of the Lom and the Adamawa. "The advance of the subgroups," write Baumann and Westermann, "was made in successive leaps, as each group pushed the other ahead or passed them by. The migration was made by kin groups, about thirty to a tribe, which constituted the only political and social unit. These kin groups (agon) moved continuously westward, often passing one another; the last comers settled beyond their predecessors for a generation or two and then departed again."

The last push was made quite recently, /60/ in the southern part of the plateau of the Adamawa, by the Mbum and the Baya, who subsequently had to yield to the Fulbe /Fulani/. This last move from the right bank of the Sanaga to the forest dates back no more than about a hundred years. When the Europeans came, they in turn stabilized the positions of all these peoples.

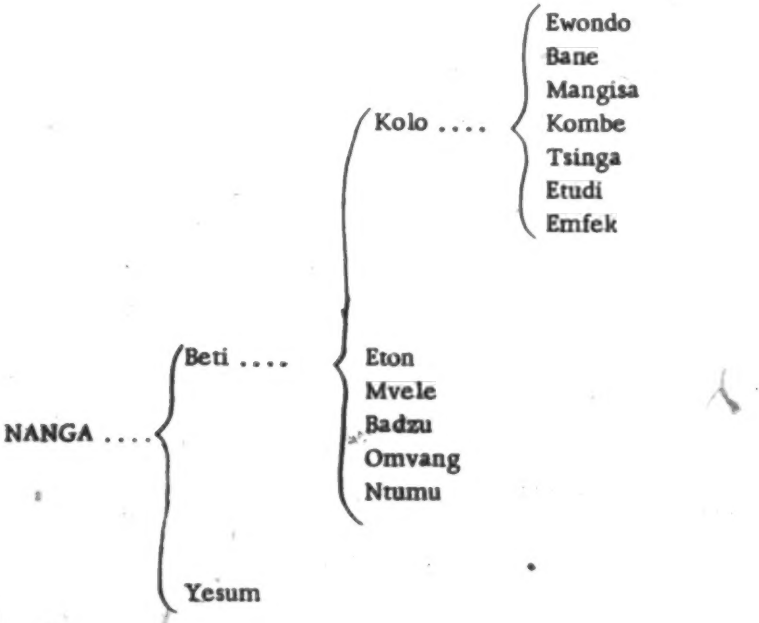
114 In spite of the linguistic investigations quickly undertaken by the
101 Germans, whose great specialist was Father Nekes, and the study of
197 oral traditions carried out to a greater extent by the French, the conclusions arrived at concerning the distribution of the Pahouin in the Cameroons are not entirely in agreement with one another. They are as follows:

Father Nekes is the authority on the subject, but his classification is chiefly linguistic. According to him there are two major groups, the Beti and the Mvele. In the first he includes the Ewondo, the Bane /Bene?/, the Yetenga, the Yetudi, the Eton, and the Betsenga; in the second, the Mvele, the Yebekolo, the Yebekanga, the Bulu, the Ntumu /Ntum?/, the Okak, the Omvang, and the Fang. Tessmann connects the Yesum with the Bulu.

114 According to Dr. Schnee, the "Fang" are divided into two large
101 groups, the Betschi /Betsi/ (established in the northwest) and the Makei /Mekei/ (settled in the southwest). His division is based on whether they pronounce the phrase, "I say that," as Mekima or Matsina. The groups are divided into an infinite number of tribes,

with names beginning either with Eb (Makei) or with Es (Betschi).

The Governor General, Cournarie, after carefully surveying the peoples in the vicinity of Yaoundé, where he was administrator, prepared the following table:



And he concluded: "It appears that among the Beti one can also include the Badjia, the Bavek, the Bamvele, the Djanti, the Ngoro, and the Yangafuk."

It is impossible to say whether or not this problem will ever be solved, for it becomes more and more complex from decade to decade because of the changes which are taking place, with perhaps increasing speed. We would like future researchers to be aware of its complexity; they should not believe that we have thought to present solutions here.

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Pahouin
Bundju
Kombe

113 Deutsches Kolonial Lexikon, under the word "Fang."
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THE BUNDJU AND THE KOMBE

131 Location: 11°25 to 11°50 long.
101 4°30 to 4°35 north lat.

We cannot silently skip over these minute groups whose names are known only to administrators working in the region of M'Bam, east of Bafia. As a matter of fact, they are essentially a part of the Beti group.

Physical and Human Geography

161 Population: Bundju—about 550 inhabitants
Kombe—about 1,126 inhabitants

361 The Kombe are settled in three villages in the valley of the
131 M'Bam, on the right bank of that river and on the highway from Bafia to Yaoundé, from the 16th kilometer to the 22nd kilometer southeast of Bafia. /Map 2/

The Bundju occupy two villages, also on the vehicular road, southeast of the Kombe but between the M'Bam and the Sanaga rivers. The two villages are separated by a Ngoro village which is wedged in between them. /62/

131 According to the Moisel map of April, 1913 (G2, Jaunde), these
101 two peoples occupied far greater territories at that time. The Kombe (then known as the Nkombe) were found all the way to the borders of

4:Dugast--8a S-4 (ca. 1947) 1949 FH9 Fang FH9
Bundju
Kombe

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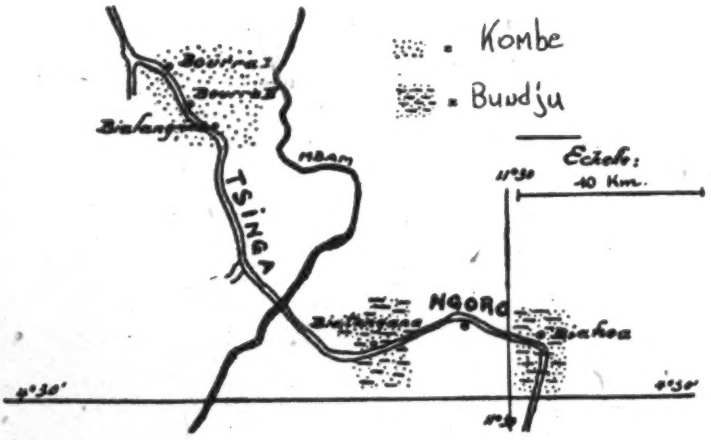
[Map 2]



Bundju
Kombe
Ngoro

present-day Bafia, in numerous villages all along the right bank of the M'Bam, meeting the Tsinga at the Owama or Afama River and reaching as far as the vicinity of the Yambasa. Others, known as Kombe, were located much farther east on the Maloko River and are probably under the jurisdiction of the Kombe villages, now claimed to be Mvele and Bavek villages (on the vehicular road in the north).

On this Moisel map, the Bundju occupied the whole vast territory, triangular in shape, which lies between the M'Bam and the Sanaga rivers.

According to the reports of the administrator Cournarie, resumed by the administrator Relly, these peoples lost all cohesion after the Babute invasion in the middle of the last century. According to their traditions, the Kombe were enslaved and consequently dispersed. The Bundju, said to be related to the Mangisa, first crossed the Sanaga. Later, when the Germans pushed the Babute back towards the north, the Bundju, greatly reduced in numbers, recrossed the Sanaga and returned to their former lands.

It would be interesting to investigate these former Beti from the linguistic viewpoint and to find out how much of their former language remains with them. The study should not be made on the basis of entire zones; rather it should be carried out almost village by village throughout a whole area where these peoples may be found juxtaposed and overlapping one another all along a vehicular road. No doubt the study will /sic/ shed but little light on the problem of origins, but it will clearly show what G. Tessmann calls the "Bati-Mbam" languages.

THE NGORO

Location: 11°15 to 11°30 long.
4°30 to 4°55 north lat.

Physical and Human Geography. The Ngoro are widely dispersed on the left bank of the M'Bam, in the valley of its tributary, the Ngoro. This little river has a minimal water supply during the dry season, but during the rainy months, on the contrary, it swells beyond the river bed and floods the banks, sometimes for a considerable distance. This is a prairie region adorned with thin shrubs. Near branches of the river, a few clumps of raffia palms can be seen.

Ngoro
Bafŏk-Yangafuk

361 The several Ngoro villages are stretched over 70 kilometers of trails. A single one may be found on the right bank of the M'Bam, in the immediate vicinity of Bafia, on the vehicular road. Another is located about 30 kilometers to the southeast, also on the vehicular road but on the left bank of the M'Bam; it is Goura, inhabited by the Ngoro who moved down toward fertile land.

173 The Ngoro say that they descended from the Mangisa a long time ago—perhaps during the time when the latter still lived north of the Sanaga. The traditions of the Ngoro also say that their original ancestor was the same as that of the Betsinga, the Kombe, and the Bundju. Is this myth or history? This extended kinship brings together all the Beti.

The folk history of the Ngoro begins only with the war against the Babute in the last century. At that time they were dispersed, and most of them clustered around the Ngoro River. When attacked by the Babute, those nearest the M'Bam crossed the river and settled among the Bafia, whom they pushed back. /63/ Others, the Yasakunu, were driven all the way back to the Yambasa. The people of the village of Ngoro submitted and were enslaved. They were deported north to Linte and Tibati and south to Goura. /Map 3/

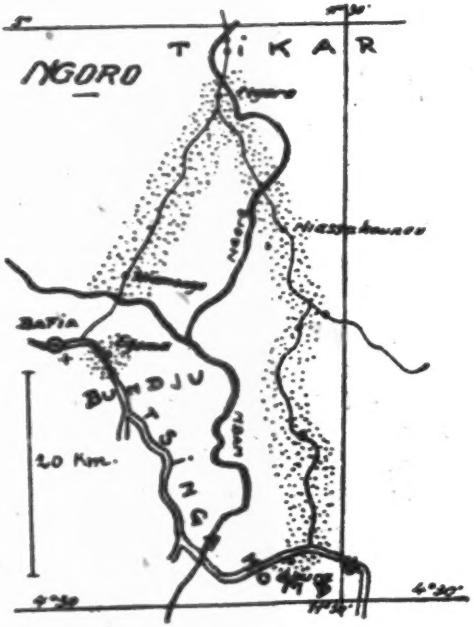
175 167 At Goura the young slave Ndenge was born of a Ngoro father and a Djanti mother, both deported there. As an adult, Ndenge enlisted in the native army of the Germans and attracted the attention of his superiors by his intelligence and zeal. They assigned him the task of reuniting all the exiles, and little by little turned over to him all those who were freed through their wars—first the exiles found among the Yambasa, then those among the Bafia. These migrations are the explanation for the wide scattering of Ngoro villages and for the frequent moves. Fortunately, the appearance of the cacao tree has begun to stabilize a number of these settlements.

THE BAFŎK-YANGAFUK

101 131 361 Location: widely scattered, to be found in several settlements sometimes very far from each other
Between 11°15 and 12°30 long.
and 4°30 and 5°50 north lat.

4:Dugast--10a S-4 (ca. 1947) 1949 FH9 Fang FH9
Ngoro

101
131



[MAP 3]

Bafök-Yangafuk

101 The peoples who are the subject of this chapter have been given several names spelled in a variety of ways by Europeans. On German maps they appear as "Fuk," "Fök," or "Fu." In French reports and maps they are called "Baveuk," "Bafeuk," or "Yangafouk." All these words seem to resemble each other, and, in reality, they are identical.

[161] Physical and Human Geography. Total population: 5, 352 inhabitants.

361 Three little enclaves of these people a few kilometers long may be
461 found on the Yoko road east of Bafia. They are settled in eight villages all told and inhabit an area of very fertile soil and forest. Cacao,
[161] palmettoes, or food crops could bring them prosperity, were it not for their laziness. (The people of these villages number 1, 558.)

173 The five southernmost villages of the eight say that their members
361 come from the southeast, from the plain of the Sanaga, or from the east, from the plain of Djerem.

The two neighboring villages to the northeast are called Yalongo (see the chapter on the Yekaba and the Bamvele). It is thought that the Yalongo conquered the Bafök and /64/ adopted their language. Finally, the eighth village is said to be related to the first five and to have come also from Djerem.

[161] To the southeast of Yoko is an enclave whose two villages, in the middle of the prairie (445 inhabitants), claim to be related both to the Yalongo and the southern Bafök.

[161] About 50 kilometers north of Yoko, in the Babute country, is the enclave of Lena consisting of 260 inhabitants. It is said that they came from the south and reached their present habitat by traveling an arc of 250 kilometers via Tibati. /Map 4/

[161] The 360 inhabitants of the enclave of Yassem, in the midst of the Tikar country, 120 kilometers west of Yoko, say that they sprang from the Bamvele. We would be more inclined to say that they share a common origin with the latter. The wars among the tribes brought them to the Tikar country where they isolated themselves on their mountain. They differ from other Bafök in that they have adopted the
[197] Islamic religion of the Tikar and that they recognize no kinship with the southern Bafök.

361 A single village may be found on the banks of the M'Bam, a few
161 kilometers from the town of Bafia. (It has 313 inhabitants.)

And lastly, on the right bank of the Sanaga, there are several Yangafuk villages (containing 2, 418 inhabitants) which are related to those found in the south on the Yoko road but separated from them by a thick forest. /65/

4:Dugast--11a S-4 (ca. 1947) 1949 FH9 Fang FH9
Bafök, Yangafuk

101
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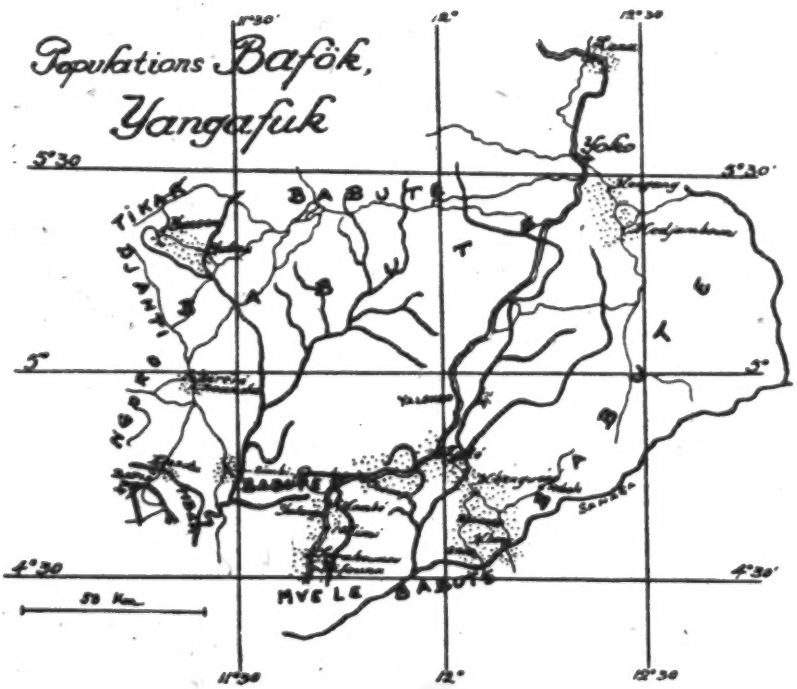

[Map 4]

Bafök-Yangafuk
Tsinga - Betsinga

174 The recognized kinship among the various groups clearly permits us to assert that their extraordinary dispersion is quite recent, going back no further than to the historical period when the Tikar and the Babute made their last advances and were driven back by the advancing Fulbe. Before that time these peoples probably inhabited the entire plain south of the Ndomé. Ndoumba was their most important center.

197 Language. The linguistic unity among the various groups of Bafök and Yangafuk confirms our impression. Dialect differences among them are minimal; they all understand each other.

G. Tessmann classifies their language as falling between that of the Bamvele and the group of Pahouin languages. As we have already mentioned, a passing observer at Lena, the Reverend Good of the American Mission, noticed a very great similarity between the language spoken there and that of the Bulu in the south.

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TSINGA - BETSINGA

131 Widely scattered habitat: $11^{o}20$ to $11^{o}50$ long.
and from south to north: $3^{o}35$ to $3^{o}50$ north lat. near Yaoundé
$4^{o}15$ to $4^{o}40$ north lat. on the two banks of the Sanaga.

101 Physical and Human Geography. Like the administrator Cournarie in the past, we have grouped together under one term the peoples generally designated as Tsinga, Betsinga, Betchenga, or Batchenga. One name is probably a transformation of another. Since the traditions of the various groups are the same, it seems inappropriate to draw distinctions among them.

361 The Tsinga are so widely dispersed that their territory does not form a unit. They are located on both banks of the Sanaga (there known as

361 the Betsenga) as far north as its tributary the Maloko and, toward the south, for about a dozen kilometers inland. Another Tsinga zone exists in the northwest on both sides of the M'Bam. Another fairly homogeneous center may be found much farther south, east of Yaoundé. Finally, there are several Tsinga villages just south of the Nyong in the vicinity of the southern road.

It is impossible to calculate the area of their various habitats except near the M'Bam (75 square km.), among the Betsenga of the Sanaga (180 square km.), and for the few purely Tsinga villages east of Yaoundé (189 square km.). Elsewhere these people appear only together with other populations.

[161] The total population comes to 15, 562 persons.

361 Near the M'Bam, as well as on the Sanaga and its little tributaries,
173 the Tsinga are settled in a land of small hills and valleys, on a prairie broken by groves and by clumps of forest. According to their traditions they originally lived north of the Sanaga, but the Babute advanced upon them. Many of them crossed the river. It appears that as soon as the Germans came and /67/ stopped the Babute, some of the Tsinga returned to the north of the Sanaga. /Map 5 covers p. 66./

197 Some say that the Tsinga are related to the Eton, and this statement
113 seems to be confirmed by the similarity between the two languages (See Nekes) /"Jaunde und seine Bewohner (Sudkamerun)"/Yaoundé and its Inhabitants (South Cameroons/," Koloniale Rundschau, 1912/. See a few words of vocabulary in G. Tessmann's Die Pangwe /The Fang/, Völkerkundliche Monographie eines westafrikanischen Negerstammes. Ergebnisse der Lübecker Pangwe-Expedition 1907-1909 und früherer Forschungen 1904-1907 /Anthropological Monograph on a West African Negro Tribe, Results of the Lübeck Fang Expedition 1907-1909 and Earlier Research in 1904-1907/ (Berlin: Wasmuth, 1913), p. 34, under the name "Bati (Batjenga)," as well as H. H. Johnston, A Comparative Study of the Bantu and Semi-Bantu Languages, (Oxford University Press, Vol. 1, 1919, Vol. 2, 1922), Vocabulary No. 216, under "Bati (Bacenga)."

161 Demography. Their population balance is favorable; the ratio of births to deaths is + 1.14 percent.

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4:Dugast--13a S-4 (ca. 1947) 1949 FH9 Fang FH9
Tsinga-Betsinga

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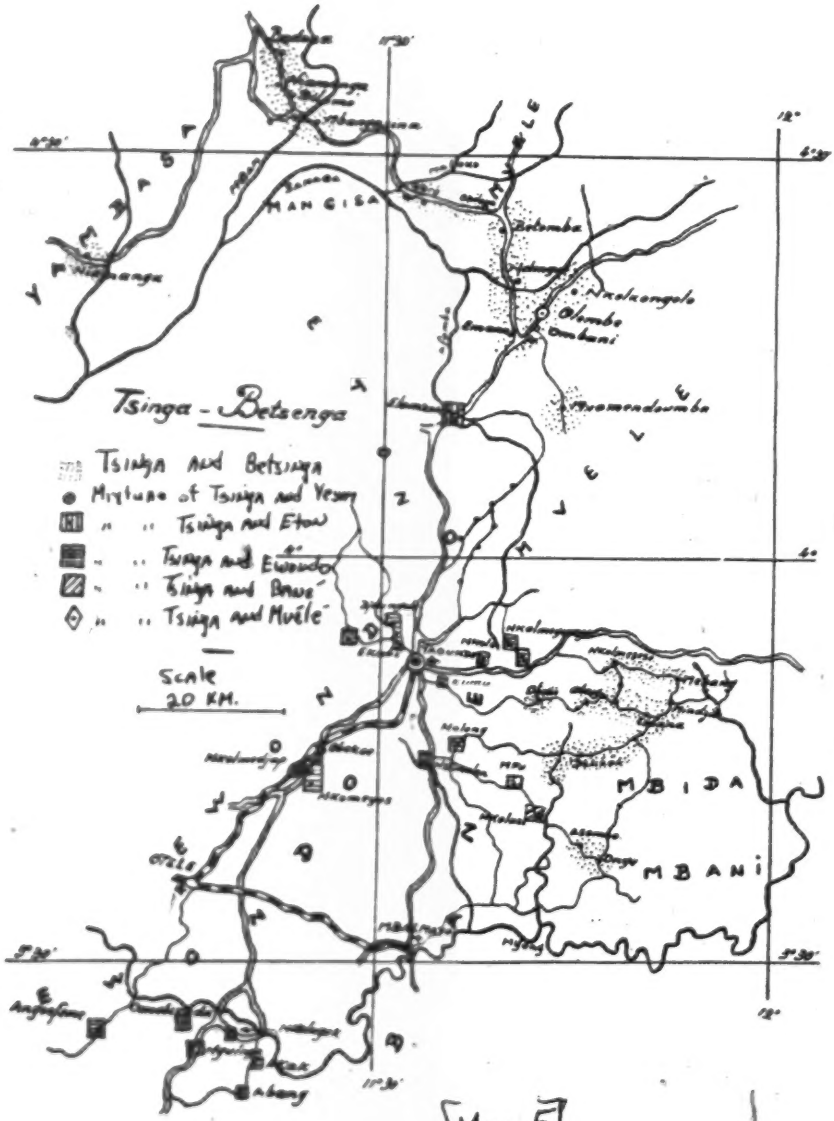

[Map 5]

113 Von Stein zu Lausnitz. "Eine Erkundungs-Expedition zwischen Wuri und Sanaga /An Exploratory Expedition Between the Wuri and the Sanaga/," Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1908, pp. 522-23.

MANGISA

131 Location: 11°15 to 11°30 long.
4°25 to 4°30 north lat.

Physical and Human Geography

131 Area: about 316 square km.
161 Population: 14, 588 inhabitants
Density: 46.2 per square km.

131 The Mangisa occupy the right bank at the bend of the Sanaga, a land of wooded hills.

173 They were probably among the peoples who crossed the Sanaga rather early, for their traditions say that, in later times, when the Eton also crossed the river, they found the Mangisa occupying the territory. /Map 6/ Fairly intensive struggles followed; then the two peoples formed an alliance which enabled them to live in peace side by side.

361 311 Like the Eton, the agricultural Mangisa live in large villages. Because of the density of the population, the entire /68/ woodland has to a large extent been cleared for their plantations, and palm trees have been planted.

197 But what is the exact origin of the Mangisa?

174 Language. The question has been raised in linguistics.

G. Tessmann has written: "In the classification of the Pahouin tribes of the north, the situation is not yet clear. One thing is certain: all the tribes—at least all those of the northeast—contain a more or less pronounced component derived from the Bati-Mbam. Thus, a few decades ago, the Eton and the Mangisa spoke a pure Bati; they have therefore become Pahouinized only in recent times, at least as regards language (1)."

1. Günter Tessmann, "Die Völker und Sprachen Kameruns /The People and

4:Dugast--14a S-4 (ca. 1947) 1949 FH9 Fang FH9
Mangisa

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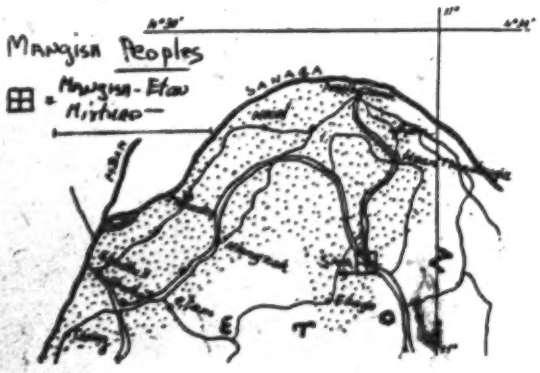
[Map 9]



197 Languages of the Cameroons/, "
174 Petermanns geographische Mitteilungen,
1932, p. 184, note 4.

On the other hand, on the basis of a personal communication from Dr. Aujoulat, who worked among the Mangisa for several years, Dr. Olivier makes the following statement: "However, on the basis of differences (from the Pahouin) in language and physical type, Aujoulat has hypothesized a different, more northern origin and contact with tribes whom he calls Sudano-Bantu, namely the Yambasa and the Sanaga (2)." On the basis of the classifications that we our-

2. Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 15-16, p. 55.

selves propose in this work, would not a Beti origin be possible? This great question is raised once again here.

141 Physical Anthropology. The /anthropometric/ indexes have been calculated by the Drs. Olivier and Aujoulat as follows:

	OLIVIER	AUJOULAT	
	Men	Men	Women
Cephalic	76.0	76.7	76.3
Facial	81.4	77.7	77.9
Nasal	88.7	86.0	90.5
Cormique	50.4	50.9	50.6
Envergure/T	104.8	105.0	103.8

143 Their blood-group ratios show a greater proportion of AB type than is present among other Pahouin, and a predominance of type A over type B. The percentages are as follows:

O: 52 percent; A: 21.9 percent; B: 10.9 percent; AB: 15.2 percent;—index $\left[\frac{A+AB}{B+AB}\right]$: 1.44.

ETON

131 Location: 11°10 to 11°45 long.
3°45 to 4°30 north lat.

131 Physical Geography. Area: 2, 520 square km.

133 The country of the Eton is made up of hills and plateaus; it drifts
137 gently down from the heights of the country of the Ewondo to the valley of the Sanaga River. The border of the great southern forest crosses the territory from south to north; the westerly two-thirds of the area are covered with forest, and the last third is prairie. The Sanaga borders the country only in the northwest and northeast, for the greater part of the loop [misprint in French text: bouche for boucle. See map.] of the river is occupied by the Mangisa. /69/

161 Human Geography. Population: 111, 738 inhabitants
Density: 44. 3 persons per square km.

173 It is impossible to say whether the Eton should be counted among the Beti populations who were dislodged and crossed the Sanaga or whether they were among the first Pahouin to cross the Sanaga at the time of the invasion. Their traditions do not go back very far; they only tell of their departure from the fork of the M'Bam and the Sanaga. /Map 7/ The Eton say that after crossing the river in the direction of the present-day village of Nkolbogo, they fell upon the Mangisa who had already arrived, and then spread themselves throughout the territory which they occupy to this day.

361 The Eton are settled in large villates, whose hamlets line the length
487 of their many trails. At present their country is traversed by several roads on which heavy trucks can travel so that their products can reach Yaoundé and the railroad.

197 Language. With reference to this subject it seems best to refer the reader to the paragraph on linguistics in the chapter on the Mangisa, since the same question is raised for the two peoples. /70/

142 Physical Anthropology and Demography. The Eton are above average in height, mesocephalic, and platyrrhin.

143 Their blood-group ratio is typically Negro, with a relatively high proportion of the AB type:

O: 55.7 percent; A: 13.8 percent; B: 17.5 percent; AB: 12.9 percent;—index $\frac{[A + AB]}{[B + AB]}$: 0.878.

141 Their height is /for the/ average: men 167.8 cm.; women 159.9 cm.

4:Dugast--16a S-4 (ca. 1947) 1949 FH9 Fang FH9
Eton

[MAP 7]

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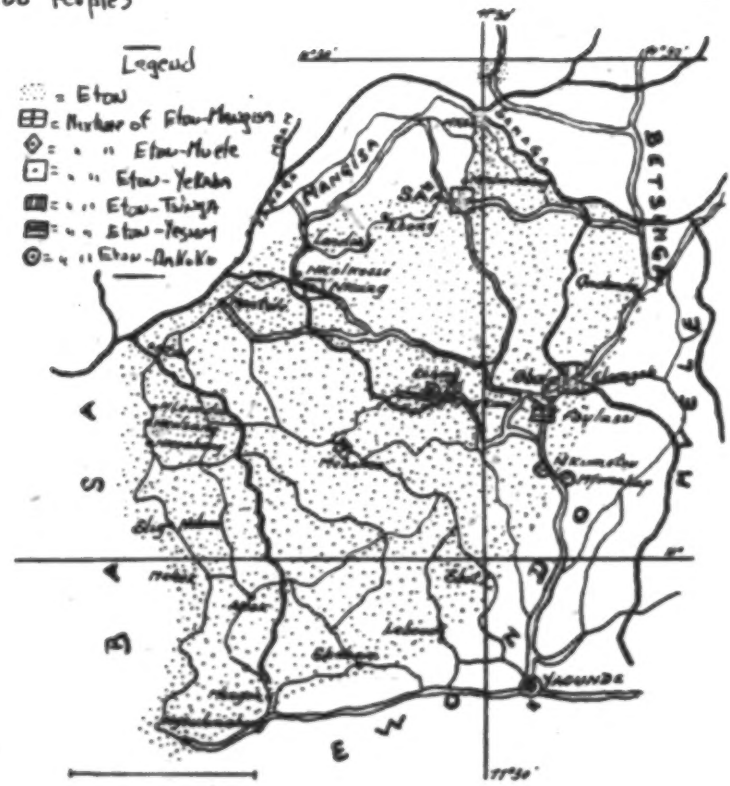
Etou Peoples



141

Indexes	Men	Women
Cephalic	76.2	76.4
Facial	85.1	84.2
Nasal	83.8	81.6
Cormique	50.8	51.0
Envergure/T	104.4	102.3

163 The birth rate is gradually dropping.

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On the subject of the settlements, subsistence, and customs of the Eton, only unpublished sources are available.

We also want to mention an important demographic report by Dr. Aujoulat of the "Ad lucem" Foundation at Efok (Subdivision of Saa). The work was carried out in 1944 (Archives du Service de Santé).

Finally, we must not neglect to mention that at the Musée de l'Homme in Paris there is a film of great ethnographic and artistic

113 worth on the subject of the "Rite SSO" as it is practiced among the Eton and the Mangisa. The film was made in an Eton village in 1955.

THE EWONDO

101 These people are called Yaoundé (1) by the Europeans, but they

1. The etymology of this name is given nowhere. According to tradition, the name Ewundu is that of the original ancestor of the people; the prefixes ya, ye, and e occur frequently in Pahouin languages.

According to Nekes, the name means "peanut"; it would therefore be a nickname, because, they say, "They are as numerous as peanuts."

call themselves Ewondo.

131 Location: $10^{o}40$ to $11^{o}40$ long.
$3^{o}10$ to $4^{o}05$ north lat.

The Evuzok branch: on a north-south trail at $10^{o}05$ long.
on an east-west trail $10^{o}25$ to $10^{o}40$ long.
$3^{o}10$ to $3^{o}25$ north lat.

Physical Geography. Area: approximately 4,320 square km.

133 137 The territory occupied by the Ewondo is a high plateau broken by little valleys. In its northern section may be found several high hills which divide the waters of the Sanaga Basin from those of the Nyong. The entire territory is within the great forest zone, but much of the land has been cleared because of the density of the population. /71/ The dividing line between forest and prairie runs east to west about 10 kilometers north of Yaoundé.

133 The river Nyong, at $3^{o}30$ north latitude, first borders the Ewondo country north to south and then crosses it from east to west before flowing into the territory of the neighboring Basa. Much further downstream it flows north to south by the settlement of the Evuzok before reaching its mouth at the ocean.

133 The southeastern part of Ewondo territory is also watered by the high stream of the little river Lokoundje.

The whole country is very fertile, rich with food crops and beautiful groves of cacao trees.

Human Geography

161 Population: Ewondo (in the Yaounde subdivision)—70, 994 in 1946
" " " M'Balmayo ")—15, 359
" " " Lolodorf ")— 6, 674 in 1947
93, 027

Evuzok: 4, 273 inhabitants

The population density varies greatly in the different zones: the region north of the Nyong is most densely populated, 49. 3 persons per square kilometer; south of the Nyong there are 13. 1 persons per square kilometer; in Evüzok, 5 persons per square kilometer.

173 History. The Ewondo settled in their present habitat quite recently —one hundred and fifty years ago at most. According to their traditions, they began the last stage of their migrations somewhere on the right bank of the Sanaga near its junction with the M'Bam. They crossed the Sanaga about five generations ago, at the time when all the peoples north of the Sanaga suffered the consequences of pressure by the Fulbe. They spread southward, and some of them even crossed the Nyong and traveled in the "low" direction (west) toward the commercial roads.

It is believed that German expeditions first reached the Ewondo in about the year 1887 (during the exploration by Kund, Tappenbeck, and Weissenborn). The administrative "station" of Yaoundé was created in 1889, and its direction was placed in the hands of G. Zenker, a man of science whose name is not likely to be forgotten in the Cameroons.

According to most of the traditions, the Evuzok (1) were the last

[101]

1. Their name is said to be nothing but a nickname meaning "elephant's stomach," which was given them by the other Ewondo after a hunt which was followed by an unforgettable feast.

of the Ewondo to arrive during the last migration, and they were

173 therefore forced to settle in the most westerly area. (See the unpublished report of Father Sohler.) Others say (according to the report of X. Béliard) that they are only brothers of the Ewondo, who crossed the Sanaga, entered the southern forest as far as the present-day region of Ebolowa, stayed there a few years, and, step by step, took the northwest route, crossing the Lokoundje River. Then they infiltrated among the Basa tribes and settled in their present habitat. What we know for certain is that not until 1910 did they occupy the three villages on the road between Kribi and Edéa, and that their migration was still in full swing when the German occupation forced them to settle in one spot.

184 563 The population in the vast territory occupied by the Ewondo is not culturally homogeneous. In many villages and even in the hamlets, the Ewondo live side by side with members of neighboring groups. On our map we have indicated the most important enclaves and mixed settlements /Map 8, facing p. 72/, namely those where the strangers are as numerous as the Ewondo or even more so. /72/ The actual situation is more complex than this, but on a map of this scale it has not been possible to show the minorities. (1)

[114]

1. A remarkable large-scale diagrammatic map of the administrative subdivision of Yaoundé should be mentioned here. It was set up in 1944 by the administrator J. Christol and shows even the smallest intermixtures, with proportional strengths, for every village and hamlet.

361 511 The Ewondo live in sizable villages which stretch along the many roads in the area. The villages are well maintained and show evidence of a comfortable standard of living which is largely the result of the prosperity of their cacao trees and their trade.

181 The Ewondo are robust and muscular, skillful and intelligent. They emigrate readily, and their workers are valued in all enterprises.

497 The shipment of their products is facilitated by a major branch of the railway which crosses their territory between Yaoundé and Otélé, and transportation on their roads plays an important role in getting the various foodstuffs and the cacao from the great markets in the bush to the railroad.

197 Languages. Father Nekes, who is an authority on the subject, was the first to show the very close relationship which exists between the Ewondo language and the languages spoken by the Pahouin of Gabon and of Spanish Guinea, despite the wide Bulu zone that separates them. The people of Gabon and the Ewondo readily understand each other.

Nevertheless, in the same year B. Struck and Nekes pointed out that in the past the Ewondo and the Bane spoke "Ati," and that they only recently adopted the Pahouin language (See Koloniale Rudschau, 1912, p. 220 and H. Nekes, "Jaunde und seine Bewohner (Sudkamerun) /Yaoundé and Its Inhabitants (South Cameroons)/, "Koloniale Rundschau, 1912, p. 469). In 1913, when Father Nekes published his book, Die Sprache der Jaunde in Kamerun /The Language of the Yaunde in the Cameroons/, he actually wrote in his introduction: "The old Ewondo today still speak 'Ati'."

Although the evolution of the language was probably completed under the eyes of Nekes a few years before World War I, at the present time the new language has been adopted entirely.

On this subject see also Gunter Tessmann, Die Pangwe. /The Fang/. Völkerkundliche Monographie eines westafrikanischen Negerstammes. Ergebnisse der Lübecker Pangwe-Expedition 1907-1909 und früherer forschungen 1904-1907 /Anthropological Monograph on a West African Negro Tribe, Results of the Lübeck Fang Expedition 1907-1909 and Earlier Research in 1904-1907/, (Berlin: Wasmuth, 1913), pp. 30-31.

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141 Physical Anthropology and Demography. The Ewondo are people
142 of above average height (men 168.4 cm; women 158.6 cm.), fairly slender, mesocephalic, barely platyrrhinian.

143 Their blood-group ratio is that of typical Negroes: O: 55.5 percent; A: 14.1 percent; B: 17.4 percent; AB: 11.5 percent; —index $\frac{A+AB}{A+AB}$: .885.

141

Indexes	Men	Women
Cephalic	77.0	77.6
Facial	85.7	85.6
Nasal	82.3	78.2
Cormique	50.5	50.4
Envergure/T	105.3	104.0 /73/

/Map 9, Ewondo Peoples, facing p. 72./

161 The population balance is fair. the differential index (ratio of births to deaths) is + 0.2 percent.

163 A slight increase in the birth rate has been noted; at the same time infant mortality is very low: 3 percent.

The fertility rate is 3.06 pregnancies per woman.

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Ewondo Peoples

Legend

- Ewondo Proper
- Mvele enclave
- Ewondo-Mvele mixture
- Baka enclave
- Ewondo-Baka Mixture
- Ewondo-Bulu mixture
- Etoe enclave
- Etoe-Ewondo Mixture
- Ewondo-Betsinga mixture
- Ewondo-Tsinga mixture
- Ngumba enclave

[MAP 8] [MAP 9] [Pub. Maps = Map 9]

20 KM

113 Cameroun /Anthropometric Documents for a Study of the Major Peoples of the South Cameroons/," Bulletin de la Société d'etudes Camerounaises, No. 15-16 (Dec. 1946), pp. 46 and 65, with bibliography.

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113 Divinatory Practices of the Peoples in the District of Yaoundé/," Journal de la Société des Africanistes, 1936, No. 1, pp. 35-39.

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Moisel map, G2, Jaunde.

THE BANE

131 Location: 11°15 to 11°55 long.
3°05 to 3°55 north lat.

Physical Geography. Area: about 2,736 square km.

The territory of the Bane borders on the Western side of the Ewondo country and stretches north to south from the vicinity of Yaoundé to 25 kilometers northeast of Ebolowa and northwest of Sangmélima.

[137] The country is located entirely within the forest zone, which is quite thinned out because of the density of population.

133 At 3°30 north latitude the river Nyong crosses the country from east to west. At that point it is a navigable canal. Further down, the river turns south and marks the boundary between the territories of the Bane and the Ewondo.

161 Human Geography. Total population: 58,309 inhabitants.

More than half of the total number of inhabitants in Bane territory live in the small area located north of the Nyong, where the population density is 40.1 per square kilometer. South of the Nyong, the density is 14.1 persons per square kilometer. /74/

174 History. Like their neighbors of the same Pahouin family, the Bane lived north of the Sanaga in the past before the last invasion. Their southward migration occurred at about the same time as that of the Ewondo, and was brought about by the same cause. The Bane crossed the Sanaga rather late, and found the Eton already settled on the other side. Therefore, they infiltrated little by little from north to south among the people who preceded them /Map 10/ They were not completely pacified until 1897.

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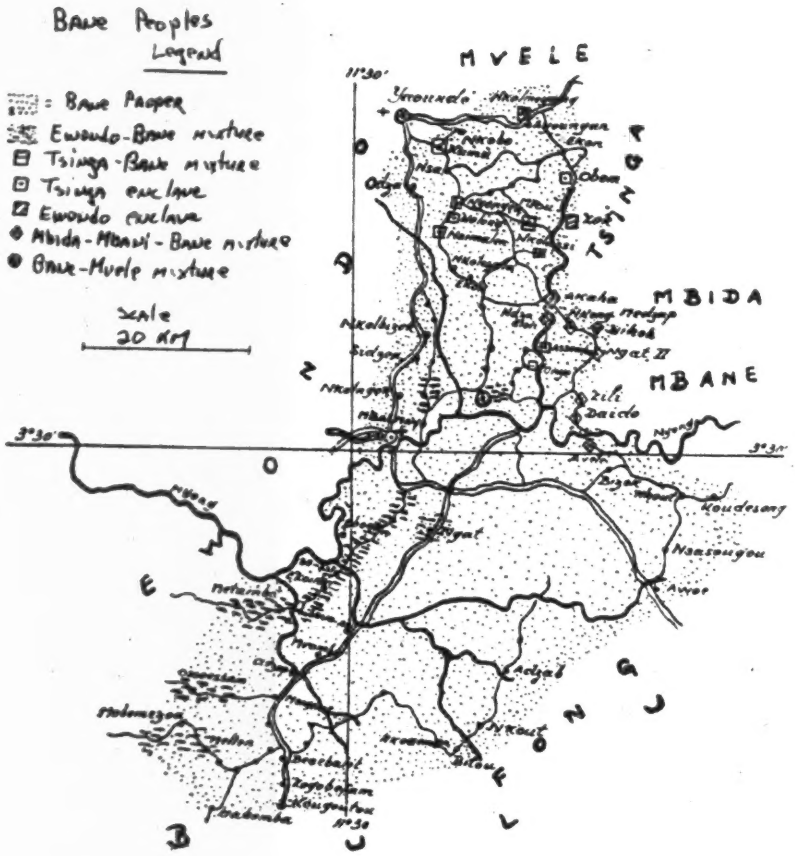

[MAP 10]

174 At that time they were already situated along one of the principal commercial routes of the south, used to ship from the east many sought-after products, especially ivory.

361 The Bane are settled in large villages and hamlets. The population in these settlements is no more homogenous /75/ than the Ewondo's. The major intermixtures are shown on our map.

491 497 The road from Yaoundé to Ebolowa now crosses the Bane country from north to south. Another road, south of the Nyong, is the terminal point of the trade routes coming from the southeast. Because of these roads and the connection with the railroads at M'Balmayo, all the wealth of this country of great food crops, rich farmlands (cacao and coffee), and forests is easily brought to market.

000 Language. The subject is discussed in the paragraph on the linguistics of the Ewondo.

141 142 Physical Anthropology and Demography. The Bane are of above-average height, fairly slender, mesocephalic, and only slightly platyrrhinian.

143 Their blood-type ratios are as follows:
O: 49 percent; A: 18 percent; B: 14 percent; AB: 19 percent—index $\left[\frac{A+AB}{B+AB}\right]$: 1.121.

141

Indexes	Men	Women
Cephalic	77.3	77.0
Facial	81.8	80.8
Nasal	85.2	86.0
Cormique	50.9	51.8
Envergure/T	104.9	103.9

161 163 The population balance is stable: the ratio of births to deaths is +0.2. The fertility rate is 4.7 pregnancies per woman. See the studies in physical anthropology in Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, Nos. 10, 12, 15-16.

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THE FONG

131 Location: 11° and 11°15 long.
3°15 north lat.
and 11°30 to 12° long.

101 Physical and Human Geography. The Fong /Fang/ are not all settled in a single area. They constitute a very small population divided into three separate clusters, lined up from west to east; the total area of the different small zones occupied by these settlements is about 1, 152 square kilometers, and in the largest and most easterly, the enclaves of Bulu villages are to be found.

101 563 Bertaut has written: "The territory is occupied by Bane and Fong without any geographical unity. Fong, Bulu, and Bane are intermingled, and one passes from a Bane area /76/ to a Fong area without noticing. This situation is the result of a mingling of tribes which must have occurred when the Bane and the Fong, who came from the north, encountered the Fang and the Bulu, who were also not yet permanently settled." (Report of May, 1932)

113 The Fong may be considered the southernmost participants in the recent invasion which brought the Ewondo and the Bane to the south

Fong
Fang

173 of the Nyong. According to their traditions they come from an area north of the Sanaga, as do the other groups which preceded them. [161] They settled in the forest, where there are at present 12, 783 of them (a density of 6.9 persons per square km.).

231 262 The Fong are an agricultural people. They seem to have little inclination to hunt so that their diet consists chiefly of vegetables, although they have a fairly large number of domesticated animals. /Map 11/

141 Physical Anthropology and Demography. Average height: men 169.7 cm.; women 162 cm.

Indexes	Men	Women
Cephalic	80.8	81.5
Nasal	95.21	84.01

161 163 The population balance is slightly positive, the ratio of birth to deaths being + 0.77. The rate of sterility is high, 25.6 percent, but is fortunately compensated for by the fertility rate, 5.3 pregnancies per woman.

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THE FANG, THE MVAE, THE NTUMU

131 Location: $10^{\circ}45$ to $12^{\circ}45$ long. and a few islands between 10° and $10^{\circ}30$ long.

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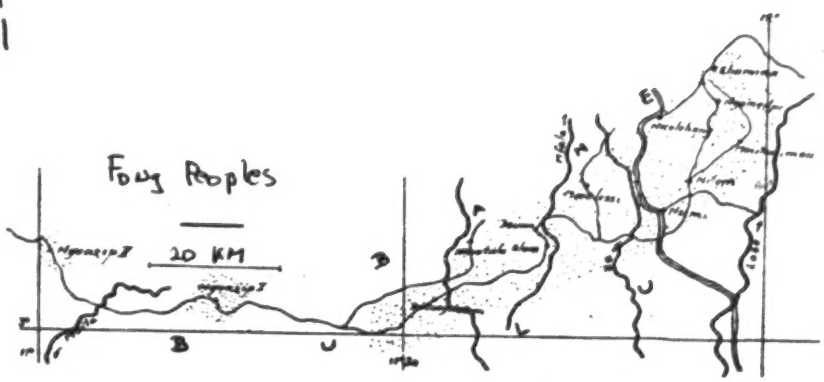

[Map 11]

101 Mvae Branch: 9°45 to 10°45 and 11°20 to 11°40 long.
131 2°15 (at the frontier of the South Cameroons) to 2°55 north lat. and a few islands at 3° north lat.

Ntumu branch: 10°25 to 11°35 long.
2°15 (on the frontier of the South Cameroons) to 2°35 north lat. /77/

Physical and Human Geography

131 Total area: about 11, 500 square km.

161 Population and density of each group:
Fang: 12, 583 inhabitants; 2 persons per square km.
Mvae: 5, 287 inhabitants; 5.8 persons per square km.
Ntumu: 16, 236 inhabitants; 9.8 persons per square km.

137 The whole territory of the Fang is within the great equatorial forest, in the basin of the N'Tem and those of its tributaries that flow to the right of it. /Map 12/

361 563 The Fang villages which are to be found furthest west in the direction of the ocean are situated near Bipindi and on the road from Bipindi to Kribi. Some of them alternate with Bulu villages, others are composed of mixed populations consisting, for example, of Fang and Bulu, Fang and Ngumba, or Mvae and Ntumu /Ntum?/. Nor are the villages and trails south of Ebolowa in the great forest inhabited by homogeneous populations. Enclaves from one group are settled with another, and intermingle with each other. The transition from the somewhat educated Bulu to the primitive inhabitants of the great forest occurs imperceptibly. Because of the inhospitable territory which they occupy, the Fang are dispersed in the enormous forest all the way to the ocean and are to be found here and there among the Mvae. They 313 lead the unstable existence of lumbermen in order to force from the land the bare means of subsistence.

The settlements of the Mvae are scattered. Some are located on the periphery of Ambam to the east and north, others are south-southeast of Ebolowa, and still others are to be found on the lower part of the N'Tem, from a point east of Nyabessan as far as the ocean.

4: Dugast--28a S-4 (ca. 1947) 1949 FH9 Fang FH9
Fang

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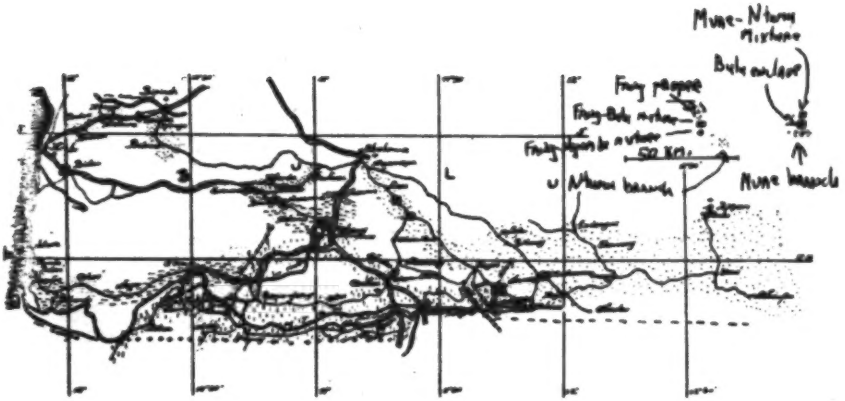
Fang Peoples



[Map 12]

Fang

361 The Ntumu make up a fairly homogeneous group falling between the Fang and the Mvae.

173 History. According to the oral traditions of the Fang, the last stage of their journey to their present habitat brought them from the south. Therefore, it is possible that they formed a part of the ancient Fang migration which came from the north /78/ and reached Gabon by way of the Ivindo Valley. It is thought that the few groups under discussion then moved slightly north, where they encountered the Bulu who arrived somewhat later.

The Mvae are an offshoot of the Fang, who arrived with the latter. At first they were dispersed throughout the whole N'Tem basin but were later displaced by the arrival of the Ntumu.

It is impossible to separate the arrival of the Ntumu in the N'Tem Basin from that of the Fang, since they were a part of the same invasion. But their oral traditions say that they occupied the country in two waves which came from different directions. It is thus possible to distinguish in their history two branches of migration: One came from the northeast, passed through the Ebolowa region, and went down to the south. Other Ntumu came from the present-day territory of Sangmélima with the Fang and went south with them, through Mimvoul, Bitam, and Oyem. Like some of the Fang, they then went back north and west through the valleys of the Woleu Benito, the N'Tem, and the Kyé. The fusion of the two branches occurred either on the banks of the N'Tem (in the Eba region) or between the Kye and the N'Tem, between 1905 and 1910. Their villages became mixed. It was during these local migrations that the Mvae branch is thought to have been N'Tem pushed out of the Basin.

197 Language. The Fang speak the language that they brought with them from the more southern region (present-day Gabon) when their migration moved back from south to north. Struck believes that they are the ones who, coming from the south, introduced their neo-Bantu language among peoples somewhat further to the west, and that the Bane and the Ewondo, who until that time had spoken "Ati," were also reached in this movement from south to north. (Koloniale Rundschau, 1912, p. 220.)

If this assertion is plausible it forces us to think that the arrival of the Bulu, who are also Pahouin, was not the end of a migration, for their presence in their current habitat would have prevented a direct contact between the Fang and the Ewondo, the only condition under which such a far-reaching linguistic influence would have been possible.

113 See:

Tessmann, Gunter. Die Pangwe /The Fang/. Völkerkundliche Monographie eines westafrikanischen Negerstammes. Ergebnisse der Lübecker Pangwe-Expedition 1907-1909 und früherer Forschungen 1904-1907 /Anthropological Monograph on a West African Negro Tribe, Results of the Lübeck Fang Expedition 1907-1909 and Earlier Research in 1904-1907/ (Berlin: Wasmuth, 1913), pp. 30-31, (short Ntum and Fang vocabularies), and pp. 45-48.

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-----. "Rätzel der Pangwe (West Zentralafrika) /Riddles of the Fang (West Central Africa)/," Anthropos, Vol. 10-11 (1915-1916), pp. 675-725.

141 Physical Anthropology and Demography. The Fang are barely above average in height, platyrrhinian, and mesocephalic.

Indexes	Men	Women
Cephalic	77.0	76.6
Facial	83.2	87.0
Nasal	91.3	88.7
Cormique	51.2	50.9
Envergure/T	105.3	103.4

161 Their population balance is hardly favorable. The ratio of births over deaths is + .03 percent.

163 The population is therefore stationary: the rate of sterility is 7 percent; the fertility rate is 3.8 pregnancies per woman.

141 The Mvae are tall and mesocephalic.

Indexes	Men	(measurements of women were not made)
Cephalic	78.8	
Nasal	104.6	
Cormique	50.4	
Envergure/T	103.9	

161 There is a slight rise in population: ratio of births over deaths is + .69 percent.

163 The sterility rate is 15.2 percent; the fertility rate, 4.3 pregnancies per woman.

141 The Ntumu are above average in height, mesocephalic, and platyrrhinian.

Indexes	Men	(measurements of women were not made)
Cephalic	77.4	
Nasal	102.3	
Cormique	50.6	
Envergure/T	101.6	

161 The population balance remains favorable in spite of an extremely
165 high rate of infant mortality, reaching 58.91 percent of children born alive. The ratio of births over deaths is + 1.53 percent.

163 The sterility rate is 12 percent; the fertility rate, 4.6 pregnancies per woman.

113 See G. Olivier, with the collaboration of Drs. Aujoulat, Chabeuf, Chagnoux, André David, and Grenier, "Documents anthropometriques pour servir a l'étude des principales populations du Sud-Cameroun /Anthropometric Documents for a study of the Major Peoples of the South Cameroons/," Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 15-16 (Sept-Dec. 1946), pp. 48-49 and 62.

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Moisel Map, H 1 and 2, Kribi.

THE BULU

131 The actual Bulu inhabit an area which stretches from east to west
101 in a thin band from 10° to 13°10 longitude and extends from 2°35
[36] to 3°15 north latitude toward the east. Toward the west their villages only extend along two parallel trails, then go in a single line to within 30 kilometers of the ocean.

North of this horizontal band, in an area which extends from 12° to 12°35 longitude and from 3°35 to 4°30 north latitude, are to be found the Yengono, the Yembama, and the Yelinda. We are including these groups among the Bulu on the authority of their traditions.

133 Physical Geography. The Bulu territory is a huge, very monotonous plateau covered with forest. It is situated at an altitude of 600 to 650 meters on the average, with a few hills rising 150 to 200 meters at most above the rest. The hills are round or conical in shape and generally wooded.

The actual Bulu country (an area of about 9, 936 square km.) is watered, on the one hand, by little tributaries which flow from the left bank of the Nyong and form valleys going from southeast to northwest. In the east the branch called the Zaman flows for 60 kilometers, touches the only trail in the thickness of the forest at a distant spot, and meets the Dja River, a tributary of the Sanga /sic/, beyond 13° longitude.

361 The Yengono, the Yembama, and the Yelinda are settled on a
133 strip of land going from north to south in an area which is part prairie and part forest. From the plain of the Sanaga the country rises gradually, and in the northern part of the Yengono country a chain of hills separates thewaters of the Sanaga and the Nyong basins. The three peoples are settled south of this line in the Nyong Basin

361 in a country full of valleys and woods. The territory covers about
133 1,728 square kilometers. /Map 13/

Human Geography

161 Population and density of each group:

True Bulu: 96,216 inhabitants; 9.59 persons per square km.

Yengono, Yembama, Yelinda: 12,987 inhabitants; 7.5 persons per square km.

Zaman: 1,407 inhabitants.

173 History. The Bulu say that they come from the east. Indeed, those who have surveyed the area with care say that "old natives can mark the sites of the villages in which they were born and those of their fathers. Going back generation by generation the track leads east." (1)

1. Bertaut, Droit coutumier des Boulous (The Customary Law of the Bulu), p. 40.

174 By bringing together linguistic and ethnographic data it has been possible to determine that, during the first wave of the Pahouin invasion, the Bulu first followed the high valley of the Sanaga and then took a direction from north to south, which it has been possible to set at 12° to 12°30 longitude. They swamped the Maka, who were settled there before them, and chased them out of the entire territory. Traditions describe them as dividing into two groups once they reached present-day Sangmélima. One group spread throughout that section and moved toward the west; those who went furthest reached almost to the ocean, from which they were separated by only a few coastal populations.

The other group went toward the east into the great forest, and the Zaman pushed all the way to the Dja, 120 kilometers away.

But considering the assertion of B. Struck and Father Nekes that the Fang language influenced that of the Ewondo, we would seem justified in placing the Bulu settlement between the Ewondo and the Fang at a very recent time, for this influence was only possible through constant and direct contacts and intermingling, not by crossing over the Bulu to reach each other. In this case does linguistics enable us to date history?

361 The settlements of these peoples vary in appearance. The villages and hamlets of the Yengono, the Yembama, and the Yelinda are located in relatively open country and they stretch out along numerous trails. The Bulu in the south, situated in a land of parallel valleys through which flow the tributaries of the Nyong and by thick forest, can only build their villages along the valleys. This whole area, es-
241 pecially in the Nyong Basin, is very fertile. The natives have fine fields of food crops and many palm trees. Many prosperous enterprises, lumber yards, and fine groves of cacao trees can also be found. /81/[14, 13]
489 All the products are transported to the railroad at M'Balmayo along a large network of roads and the navigable parts of the Nyong.

181 The Bulu are intelligent and hard working, and are capable of becoming excellent craftsmen.

197 Language. We have seen that Father Nekes and G. Tessmann see a very close relationship between the language of the Bulu and that of the Mvele. The Bulu language includes a number of dialects with only slight variants, and falls between the speech of the Ewondo and that of the Gabon Pahouin, which are almost identical.

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Physical Anthropology and Demography

141 Bulu: average height, men 165.4 cm.; women 157.6 cm.

Indexes	Men	Women
Cephalic	77.8	79.2

Bulu Peoples

[Map 13]

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4:Dugast--34a S-4 (ca. 1947) 1949 FH9 Fang FH9 Bulu

Facial	86.5	85.1
Nasal	85.7	82.0
Cormique	51.2	52.2
Envergure/T	103.7	102.9

The population is barely increasing: the ratio of births over deaths is + 0.30 percent.

The sterility rate is 7 percent; the fertility rate is 4.12 pregnancies per woman.

Yengono. Sleeping sickness has been rampant in this area in the past but now seems to have been conquered.

Their blood group ratios are as follows:
O: 50.1 percent; A: 15.7 percent; B: 29.5 percent; AB: 4.7 percent; —index $\frac{A+AB}{B+AB}$: 0.59.

The population balance is slightly favorable; the excess of births over deaths is .63 percent.

Sterility rate 9 percent; fertility rate, 3.47 pregnancies per woman.

Yelinda. The population balance is not being maintained; the index of births over deaths is -0.1 percent.

Sterility rate 18 percent; fertility rate, 3.30 pregnancies per woman.

Yembama. Sleeping sickness has been very prevalent among these people, but it is continually decreasing.

The population balance is favorable: the excess of births over death is .72 percent.

The sterility rate is 16 percent; the fertility rate, 3.97 pregnancies per woman. /82/

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THE MVELE

131 Location: 11°40 to 12°10 long.
3°45 to 4°20 north lat. south of the Sanaga River
Also from south to north at 4°20 to 4°35 north lat. and 11°40 long.

133 Physical Geography. Area: 2, 304 square kilometers south of the

133 Sanaga. The northern part of the Mvele territory is a high plateau which is covered by prairie interspersed with strips of forest. It is very well watered by tributaries and subtributaries of the Sanaga which flow calmly on broad river beds. Toward 4° north latitude a row of hills marks the dividing line between the waters of the Nyong and the Sanaga basins. Thus the entire southern portion of the Mvele country is part of the Nyong Basin. The last vestiges of the forest are to be found there, in addition to crops and many palm trees.

Human Geography

161 Population: south of the Sanaga: 35, 340 inhabitants in 1945
north of the Sanaga: 1, 655 inhabitants
density south of the Sanaga: 15. 3 persons per square km.

174 History. The movement of the Babute was also responsible for pushing the Mvele back to the left bank of the Sanaga in the middle of the last century. A few enclaves remained wedged in between the various small groups who sought refuge in the area between the M'Bam and the Sanaga Valley. Therefore, the Mvele of the north and those of the south are really part of the same group.

The various authors are not in agreement on the question of a kinship between the Mvele and the large group called Yesum. According to Engelhardt, these are two separate groups. G. Tessmann, on the contrary, believes that the Yesum must be considered part of the Mvele "complex."

361 When the Germans first reached the Mvele they were struck by the unusual appearance of their villages. Engelhardt describes them as follows: "Unlike the rest of the Fang, who place their huts in rows on both sides of trails, /83/ the Mvele build theirs in a star-shape around a central square or with no regard for symmetry." (Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1902, p. 421.)

487 From the beginning of the German occupation, the trails in the
489 territory served as trade routes to the south over which the products of the east were transported toward Yaoundé and to the coast. At the present time these products are carried both on the road that crossed the Mvele country in the south (from Akonolinga to Yaoundé) and on the eastern highway (from Nanga-Eboko to Yaounde). /Map 14/

197 Language. According to Engelhardt the Mvele tongue is very similar to that of the Ewondo and seems to be but a dialect of the

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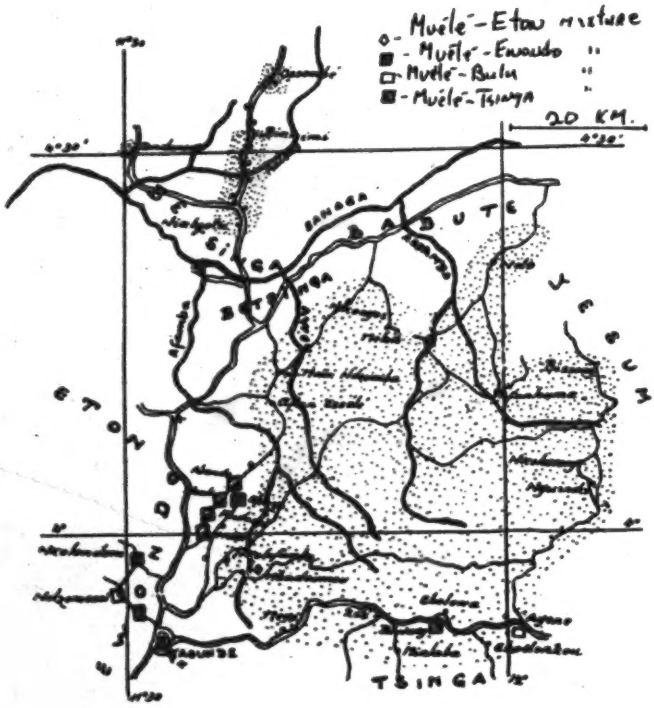
Muélé Peoples



[Map 14]

197 latter. Father Nekes, however, is of a different opinion; he stresses a very great resemblance to the Bulu language of the Ebolowa district. In his opinion the Mvele language represents a more archaic form than those of the Ewondo or the Bane.

See:

Tessmann, Günter. Die Pangwe /The Fangs/. Völkerkundliche Monographie eines westafrikanischen Negerstammes. Ergebnisse der Lübecker Pangwe-Expedition 1907-1909 und früherer Forschungen 1904-1907 /Anthropological Monograph on a West African Negro Tribe, Results of the Lübeck Fang Expedition 1907-1909 and Earlier Research in 1904-1907/ (Berlin: Wasmuth, 1913), pp. 30-31 (a short vocabulary).

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Nekes. Koloniale Rundschau, 1912, pp. 469-70. /84/

141 Physical Anthropology and Demography. The Mvele are slender, slightly platyrrhinian; they have the features of the Sudan in attenuated form.

Indexes	Men	Women
Cephalic	77.5	78.4
Facial	81.3	82.1
Nasal	90.0	85.5
Cormique	51.5	52.1
Envergure/T	104.1	103.1

143 Their blood group ratios are typically Negro, although the proportion of group AB is slightly greater than in the classical formula. O: 51 percent; A: 14.3 percent; B: 16.3 percent; AB: 18.4 percent;—index $\frac{A+AB}{B+AB}$: 0.942.

161 The population balance is not being maintained: the index of births to deaths is -0.21 percent.

See:

131 Olivier, G. "Etude anthropologique comparée des principales tribus de la region de Yaoundé /A Comparative Study in the Physical Anthropology of the Principal Tribes of the Yaoundé Region/,"

113 Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 10 (June 1945), pp. 55-76.

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THE YESUM AND THE YEBEKANGA

131 Location: 11°55 to 12°30 long.
5°05 to 5°35 north lat.

Physical Geography. Area: Yesum: about 1,296 square km.
Yebekanga: about 315 square km.

133 The country of the Yesum appears on a map as an irregular four-sided figure. The territory stretches through the plain of the Sanaga

133 River and is watered by its tributaries and subtributaries. Throughout the northern region these flow through thick strips of forest in the prairie. The southern part of the country is still within the forest zone.

The Yebekanga are neighbors of the Yesum to the east. They occupy a triangular area in the valley of the Tédé; the land is flat and monotonous, a prairie broken by thickets and strips of forest.

161 Human Geography. Population: Yesum: 8,075 inhabitants
Yebekanga: 747 inhabitants
Densities: Yesum: 6.1 persons per square km.
Yebekanga: 2.37 persons per square km.

174 We have noted that the first German ethnologists were not agreed on the origin of the Yesum or their ethnic relationship to other Pahouin /85/ peoples. Some saw a Yesum-Mvele complex, others, on the contrary, a complex of Yesum-Bulu.

Lastly, the administrator Chauleur states in a 1933 report that among the peoples of "Fang" origin in the subdivision of Nanga-Eboko, "the chief nucleus is comprised of the Yesum .... According to their oral traditions they are descended from the ancestor Ngombe who lived in the country of Djoum." According to this new version of their origin the Yesum came from the south, having been separated quite late from the Bulu; according to the two German versions, on the other hand, they entered the country from the north at the time of the Pahouin arrival.

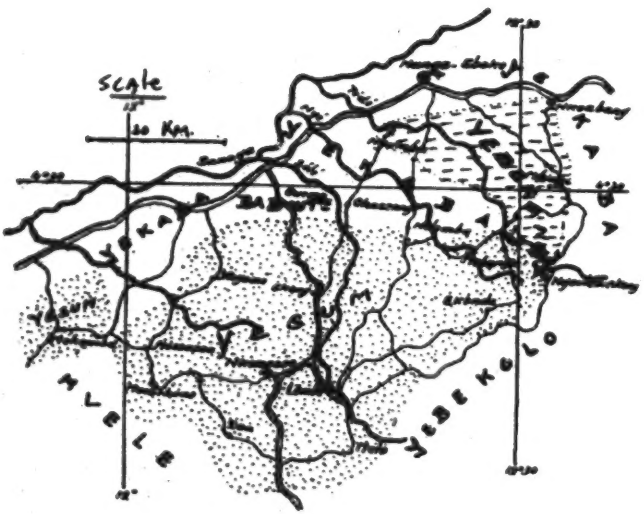
To go back to G. Tessmann's classification—which may be only provisional, since future studies may reveal new data—we note that there is no absolute contradiction between the Mvele-Yesum and Bulu-Yesum theses except as regards the direction of migration, for both hypothetical complexes are Pahouin, regardless of whether the migration occured at a later or earlier date, in one direction or the other. /Map 15/

In the midst of the Yesum is the settlement of the Yemfang, comprised of no more than a few hundred persons. The administrator Chauleur was able to determine that the latter group also came from the south and that they are closely related to the people of the Bulu region.

Mr. Bertaut, for his part, notes the presence of the Yesum among peoples living in the Bulu territory, and we find them listed in his nomenclature. (1)

4:Dugast--40a S-4 (ca. 1947) 1949 FH9 Fang FH9
Yesum
Yebekanga

101 Yesum and YebeKanga
131



[MAP 15]

174 1. Bertaut, Le droit coutumier des Boulous. Monographie d'une tribu du Sud-Cameroun (The Customary Law of the Bulu. A Monograph Concerning a South Cameroon Tribe)," (Paris, 1935), p. 45.

As for the Yebekanga, the administrator Chauleur says that "it is impossible to show a common origin for the Yebekanga and the Yesum. It seems likely, however, that this tribe climbed from the shores of the Nyong at a fairly recent time." (2)

2. Unpublished report on February 28, 1933. /86/

Here we have grouped the Yesum and the Yebekanga together despite contradictions in our sources. We have done so simply because of the possibility that they migrated in the same direction. According to their accounts, it would seem that their migration took place quite recently, just a few years before the coming of the Europeans. In the course of it they clashed with peoples of the same Pahouin origin who had come from the north about a hundred years ago, and pushed them back toward their present habitats.

161 Demography. The population of the Yesum is decreasing in spite of apparently good conditions. At present the ratio of births to deaths is -2.6 percent.

163 The sterility rate rises as high as 25.53 percent, and the fertility rate is 3.4 pregnancies per woman.

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THE YEKABA

101 Location: 12° to 12°50 long.
5°20 to 5°45 north lat.

131 Physical and Human Geography

161 Area: about 1, 602 square km.
Population: 14, 500 inhabitants
Density: 9. 2 persons per square km.

133 All of the Yekaba country is located on the prairie which extends through the plain on the right bank of the Sanaga River. The country has few valleys; it is watered by tributaries of the Sanaga, the Tédé and the Nyé, which are bordered by forest.

101 The information provided by various observers (the administrators Chauleur, Cournarie, and Boudineau) gives no clear indication as to the general grouping in which we should place this group of peoples settled on the right bank of the Sanaga. All French maps give the general name of Badjia, and under it are classed several groups not all of whom are known to have a common origin. The name "Badjia" may be but a nickname (according to Boudineau). German maps use only the name "Yekaba, " concerning which Chauleur also says: "Among these tribes (of the Badjia group), the most important is the Yekaba, and it gives it's name to the region. " (1)

1. Unpublished report of February 28, 1933.

114 According to Cournarie, the Yekaba and several kindred groups originate among the Yalongo who live on the northern bank of the Sanaga, directly north of their present habitat. Under pressure from the Babute, who were themselves pushed back by the Fulbe, these peoples fled south and crossed the Sanaga River. It is possible that at first they occupied all of the territory north of the Nyong, together with their neighbors the Bamvele. Later they were pushed back toward the Sanaga by the migration of the Yesum-Yebekanga coming from the south. (2) These two waves moving in opposite directions clashed and interpenetrated, producing the present confusion. The Yekaba found themselves split in two by the Yebekanga, who formed /87/ an enclave in their midst. The peoples of the left bank of the Sanaga (in the administrative subdivision of Nanga-Eboko) are thus composed of two different elements: the somewhat older inhabitants who came originally from the north, went south, and were pushed back, and the more recent arrivals who came from the south and pushed back the former.

These two groups, one coming from the north, the other from the south, and arriving at different times, are probably both part of the

174 long migration of the Pahouin—although the name "Yalongo" spoken of in their geneologies is reminiscent of the Beti. Once again we are aware of the complexity of the Beti-Pahouin intermixture.

361 491 The villages and huts spread through the bush give an impression of poverty, although in 1903 the Germans noted that the great trade route from Bertoua to Yoko passed through Yekaba territory. /Map 16/ At the present time the whole length of the territory is serviced by the great eastern highway (Yaoundé—Nanga-Eboko—Bertoua).

197 Language. The fact that the Yekaba form part of the Pahouin migration is apparent from G. Tessmann's tribal map, where they are shown in the large Pahouin blot—under the general heading of "Mvele." We will return to this subject later in the chapter on the Bamvele.

161 Demography. The Yekaba are definitely decreasing in number.

165 163 The infant mortality rate among them is 34.3 percent. The sterility rate is 33.93 percent; the fertility rate is 4.3 pregnancies per woman, but with about 10 percent stillbirths.

161 The population balance shows a ratio of -4.4 percent births to deaths.

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Moisel map, G3, Dume. /88/

THE BAMVELE AND THE BOBILI

131 Location: 12°30 to 13°30 long.
4°35 to 4°50 north lat.

101 On all German maps the people we call Bamvele are designated by the name of Bele (see the Moisel map and Tessmann's tribal map).

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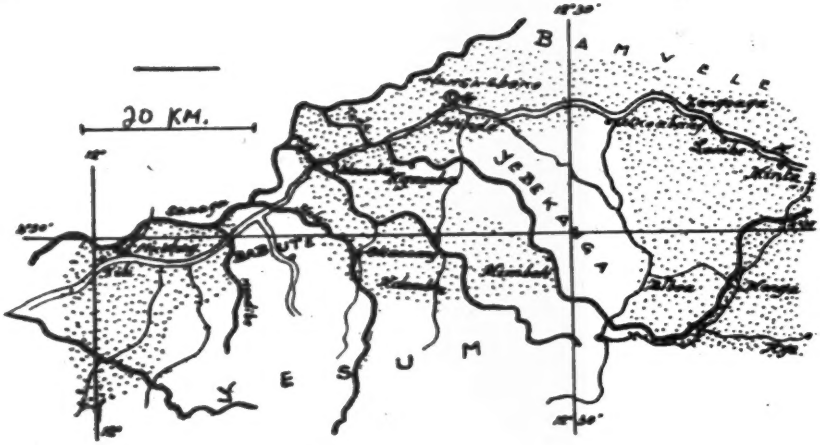
131 YeKaba Peoples



[Map 16]

101 We connect the Bobili with the Bamvele because, on the one hand, they do not appear separately from the Bele on the Moisel map (Dume, G3), and, on the other, the traditions pertaining to their origins are not precise enough to permit us to draw a conclusion differing from that of the Germans.

Physical and Human Geography

131 Area: 2,472 square km.

161 Population: Bamvele—18,452 inhabitants
Bobili—6,247 inhabitants

Density: 10 persons per square km.

133 The Bamvele are close neighbors of the Yekaba and the Yebekolo in the north; they occupy a large homogeneous territory on the border between forest and prairie. The country is almost flat, extending into the Sanaga plain and borders the river for about 30 kilometers. The territory is watered by several broad tributaries of the Sanaga. In the east, one of these tributaries, the Long, serves as a frontier between the Bamvele and the Babute, who surround them everywhere except in the south. A few Bamvele villages have been established [361] on the right bank of the Long, and they border the Bertoua road for a few kilometers.

174 Like their neighbors, the Yekaba, the Bamvele in their traditions tell that their origins are to be sought among the Yalongo north of the Sanaga. They too were pushed by the Babute who were under pressure from the Fulbe; they fled south and crossed the Sanaga a little more than a hundred years ago. Their history is identical with that of their neighbors, the Yekaba. /Map 17/ /89/

173 The Bobili believe that they are native to the territory, but they say that in former times their country extended west, beyond the Long. Therefore, the impact upon them of the Babute and Fulbe movements would have been very slight. (1)

1. Unpublished report of Mr. Brothier-Oubre for May, 1945.

114 The administrator Chauleur carried out prolonged research in an attempt to untangle the network of peoples on the banks of the Sanaga. He does not feel that he can make a statement about the remote origins of the Yalongo, but he poses the following problem: "Could they be related to the Ba-yoka of the Congo who emigrated south

4:Dugast--44a S-4 (ca. 1947) 1949 FH9 Fang FH9
Bamvele
Bobili

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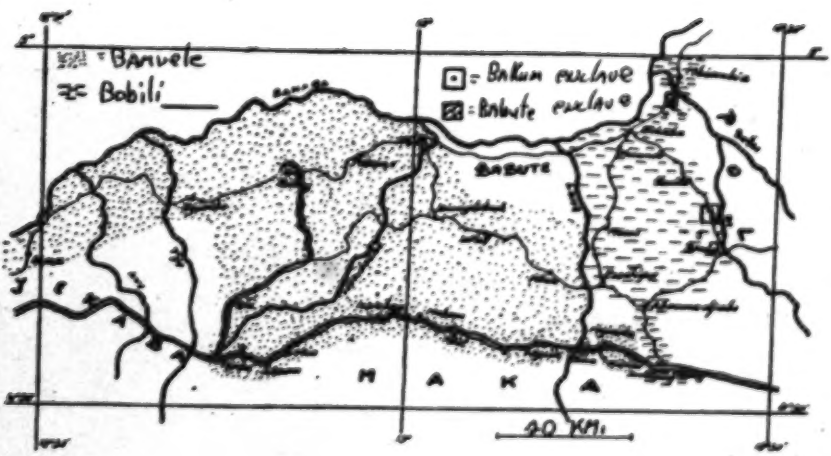
[MAP 17]



114 from the Masai territory during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries? The presence of Ba-yoka in the midst of the tribe is, of course, insufficient evidence. In order to give a satisfactory answer to this question we would have to be able to make a comparison between the languages."

245 The country of the Bamvele and the Bobili is enriched by the presence of beautiful palm trees which are the sole source of prosperity for these peoples.

491 The country is serviced in the south by the eastern highway and also by a central road which runs from the Yekaba frontier to the north of their district.

197 Language. Although the traditions of the Yekaba and the Bamvele state that the ancestors of both peoples fled from among the Yalongo north of the Sanaga, the linguistic map of G. Tessmann clearly distinguishes between the two.

As we have seen, he says that the Yekaba speak a Pahouin tongue. The Bamvele (Bele in the German terminology) are said to have brought from their land of origin a language which is different from, although related to, the Pahouin languages, but mixed with that of the Beti. This observation is interesting and plausible. The Yekaba of the same origin as the Bamvele may thus have borrowed their language.

See Günter Tessmann, "Die Völker und Sprachen Kameruns /People and Languages of the Cameroons/," Petermanns geographische Mitteilungen (Gotha, 1932), pp. 117 and 184.

141 Physical Anthropology. The people are almost all tall and strong, with flat noses and a marked prognathism. The trunk of the body is proportionately long.

Average height: men 169.7 cm.; women 158.9 cm.

Indexes	Men	Women
Cephalic	79.3	78.7
Facial	84.7	84.9
Nasal	87.0	81.8
Cormique	51.5	52.5
Envergure/T	104.5	104.2

THE YEBEKOLO

131 Location: 12°08 to 12°45 long.
3°50 to 4°20 north lat.

Physical and Human Geography

Area: about 1, 950 square km.
161 Population: 23, 291 inhabitants
Density: 11. 9 persons per square km.

133 The territory of the Yebekolo, in the form of a cornucopia laid on its side, is all to be found in the basin of the Nyong. The river forms its southern boundary. The tributaries on the right bank have broad beds and, in the vicinity of the Nyong, often overflow so that the valleys are frequently flooded. /90/ This is a large territory, covered with forest and quite marshy.

361 Large villages are found here. While the food crops are not poor,
262 they are not very abundant. The people who live near the Nyong supplement their food supply by fishing and hunting.

174 It is difficult to say what may be the remote origins of this people. Their oral traditions (as reported by Mr. Tremesaygues) speak of their ancestor as being of Yambasa stock and, therefore, as having lived about 200 kilometers west of their present settlement, north of the Sanaga. /Map 18/ Moving eastward, the Yebekolo met first the Omvang and then the Maka, whom they pushed back to their present habitat.

The German maps, however, do not confirm these traditions. Also based on traditions, upon which linguistic data is often superimposed, they show all the Yebekolo as part of the "Mvele complex" (see detailed maps in Deutsches Kolonialblatt, 1907) under the name "Pangwe." It is possible that a borrowing of language occurred here —for a linguistic fact provides clues rather than permanent solutions to ethnographic problems.

648 When the Germans arrived in the territory of the Yebekolo (1904-
487 1905), the latter submitted to them without resistance. The new occupants found them settled on the big eastern trials leading to Doumé. From that time on the trails were improved, and the Yebekolo thus found themselves situated on the big trade routes by which the products of the eastern forest were taken to the coastal regions. /91/

4:Dugast--46a S-4 (ca. 1947) 1949 FH9 Fang FH9
Yebekolo

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Yebekolo Peoples

[Map 18]

197 Language. The linguistic map of G. Tessmann shows without comment, the Yebekolo, under the category of "Mvele."

141 Physical Anthropology and Demography. The average height of the Yebekolo is 165.5; the average cephalic index is 78.8.

143 Their blood-group ratios are as follows:
O: 69.3 percent; A: 13.1 percent; B: 12.1 percent; AB: 5.35 percent;—index $\frac{A+AB}{A+AB}$: 1.197.

165 The extremely high rate of infant mortality (58.64 percent) is due
164 to malarial. The disease is fostered by the marshiness of the region, which is likely to remain a source of sleeping sickness as well.

161 The population balance is stationary; the ratio of births to deaths is + 0.09 percent.

163 The sterility rate is 5 percent; the fertility rate is 3.98 pregnancies per woman.

See:

113 Olivier, G., with the collaboration of Drs. Aujoulat, Chabeuf, Chagnoux, André David, and Greiner, "Documents anthropometriques pour servir a l'étude des principales populations du Sud-Cameroun, /Anthropometric Documents for a Study of the Major Peoples of the South Cameroons/," Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 15-16 (Sept.-Dec. 1946), p. 65.

Brygoo. "Le nouveau-né et la femme enceinte aux environs d'Ayos /The Newborn Child and the Pregnant Woman in the Vicinity of Ayos/," Bulletin de la Société d'Etudes Camerounaises, No. 21-22 (1948), pp. 49-68.

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Moisel map, G3, Dume

THE OMVANG

131 Location: the Omvang are split into two sections
One section: 12°15 to 12°50 long.
3°55 to 4°05 north lat.
Other section: 12°45 to 13° long.
4°05 to 4°28 north lat.

Physical and Human Geography

Area: in the west—about 390 square km.
in the east—about 660 square km.
161 Population: in the west—4, 852 inhabitants
in the east—7, 520 inhabitants
Density: in the west—12.4 persons per square km.
in the east—11 persons per square km.

131 The Omvang inhabit a forest country which is quite poor in the west but rich in the east. Those who are furthest west, northwest of Ayos, are on the banks of the Nyong, and that is the only place where
133 they have access to a road. The territory of the eastern Omvang is in the valley of the Ayong, a tributary from the right of the Nyong, but their country does not reach as far as the river itself. However, the stream is navigable everywhere so that the river can be easily reached. Ayong flows first of all through a forest which thins out toward the south and is replaced by beautiful clusters of raffia palms.

173 The Omvang know little of their history. They know only that less then a century ago they still occupied the entire territory north of the Nyong; they were in constant contact with the Yebekolo and were sometimes their masters, sometimes their slaves. They were warriors trained in guerrilla warfare, and in the end they attacked the neighboring Maka and wrested from them the land which is their present habitat. The advance of the Yebekolo /92/ split them into two sections. Only the intervention of the Germans in 1904-1905 reestablished peace in the area.

174 P. Chauleur does not agree with the view that the Omvang are a people of the Pahouin group. His arguments, based only on data concerning local migrations, seem to be no more valid than those he opposes.

241 The eastern Omvang, settled in a fertile region are hard-working and good farmers. In addition to their food crops they care for large

241 fields of peanuts and maintain beautiful palm groves and coffee and cacao plantations.

197 Language. G. Tessmann is no more definite as regards the language of the Omvang than other authors concerning their folk history. His tribal map shows the two Omvang sections stand out clearly on the large Pahouin area /Map 19/ His only comment on the subject is the following: "Probably they should be grouped with the Neo-Bantu, perhaps with the Pahouin, " ("Die Völker und Sprachen Kameruns /The People and Languages of the Cameroons/, " Petermanns geographische Mitteilungen, 1932, p. 190).

164 Demography. The western Omvang have one of the highest incidences of sleeping sickness.

161 Nevertheless, their population balance is slightly favorable; the ratio of births to deaths is + 0.83 percent.

163 The sterility rate is 8 percent; the fertility rate is 3.57 pregnancies per woman.

164 The eastern Omvang also have suffered greatly from sleeping sickness. /93/

161 Their population balance also shows a slight increase; the ratio of births to deaths is 0.92 percent.

163 The sterility rate is 9 percent; the infant mortality rate is very low.

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Moisel map, G3, Dume.

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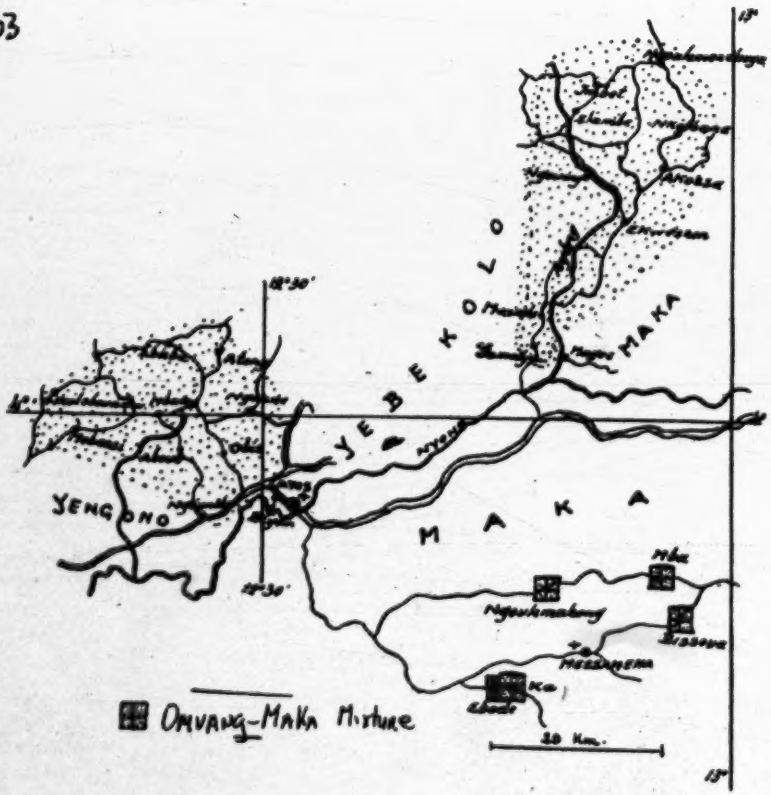
Omvang Peoples.



[Map 19]

THE MBIDA-MBANE AND THE MVOGO-NIENGE

131 Location: Mbida-Mbane—11°40 to 12°15 long.
4°20 to 4°50 north lat.
Mvogo-Nienge—12° to 12°28 long.
4°20 to 4°45 north lat.

Physical Geography. Areas: Mbida-Mbane—1, 548 square km.
Mvogo-Nienge—710 square km.

101 The origins of the Mbida-Mbane and the Mvogo-Nienge seem to be similar enough for us to discuss them together here.

Geographically they are neighbors. The Mbida-Mbane are located on both sides of the Nyong River, in two sections of about equal size in the north and in the south.

The Mvogo-Nienge are their neighbors to the east, south of the Nyong.

133 Both peoples occupy fertile forest regions. The river Nyong flows northeast to southwest through the middle of Mbida-Mbane country. The Mvogo-Nienge inhabit its banks for only a few kilometers, upstream from Akonolinga.

Human Geography

161 Population: Mbida-Mbane—19, 707 inhabitants
Mvogo-Nienge—7, 291 inhabitants
Densities: Mbida-Mbane—12.8 persons per square km.
Mvogo-Nienge—10.26 per square km.

174 History. The traditions of the Mbida-Mbane as well as those of the Mvogo-Nienge tell of ancestors living on the right bank of the Sanaga, as do those of the Yeduma, the Yengono, and the Yembama (the last two groups have been classified by Tessmann among the Bulu). It is said that three slaves of the same master, whose lives were in danger as a consequence of a great palaver, escaped and crossed the Sanaga. Since they were slaves, naturally no mention is made of their ethnic family. Their descendants comprise a number of the peoples who live in the environs of the Nyong at the present time.

241 Both groups live in a fertile country where the cultivation of food crops may be found adjacent to prosperous cacao and coffee plantations. The inhabitants on the banks of the Nyong supplement their diets with fish.

505 The wealth of all this region is easily transported by way of the river, which is navigable to M'Balmayo, where it connects with the railroad by way of the eastern road (Abong-M'Bang—Akonolinga—Yaoundé) /94/ and finally by way of the southern road (Sangmélima-M'Balmayo).

164 Demography. The Mbida-Mbane have not suffered greatly from sleeping sickness except in the Akonolinga group, and even here the disease was quickly checked. However, congenital syphilis accounts for 22.2 percent of the cases of infant mortality. /Map 20/

161 The ratio of births to deaths is slightly favorable: + 0.68 percent.

163 The sterility rate is 7 percent; the fertility rate is 5.20 pregnancies per woman.

511 The living conditions of the population as a whole are good, and it is growing slowly.

161 Among the Mvogo-Nienge the number of births barely exceeds the deaths; the ratio is + 0.39.

163 The sterility rate is 9 percent; the fertility rate is 4.25 pregnancies per woman. However, there is a very high proportion of stillbirths—26.9 percent—which explains the fact that this population remains stationary.

4: Dugast--51a S-4 (ca. 1947) 1949 FH9 Fang FH9
Mbida-Mbane
Mvogo-Nienge

101 Mbidambawi and
131 Mvog-Nienge Peoples
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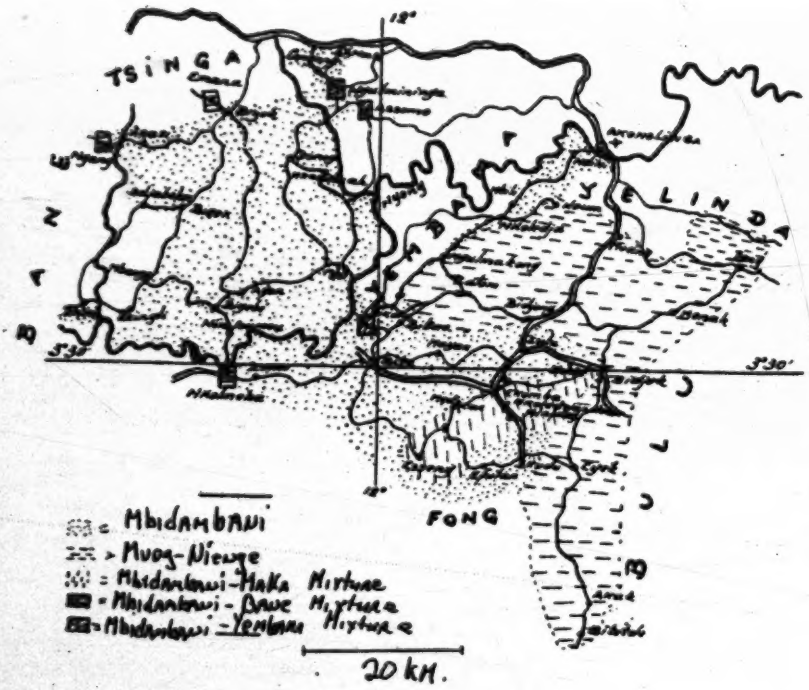

[Map 20]